

Message Text

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E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, PINT, RP
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH MARCOS

REFS: A. STATE 78165, B. STATE 78460, C. MANILA 4890

1. REFERENCE C GIVES FULL DETAILS OUR LATEST SESSION WITH MARCOS AND HIS ADVISORS ON MILITARY BASES. FOLLOWING THIS MEETING I STAYED BEHIND FOR FINAL PRIVATE TALK.

2. DURING TALK I MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. LATEST PHILIPPINE AIDE MEMOIRE HAS POSITIVE ELEMENTS AND WOULD APPERAR TO BE GENUINE PHILIPPINE EFFORT RESPOND TO SOME POINTS OF OUR CONCERN. IMPLEMENTATION, HOWEVER, WILL REQUIRE CONFIDENCE ON BOTH SIDES. IF, AS WE SEEK TO SPELL OUT DEAILS OF NEW ARRANGEMENTS, OUR MILITARY ARE FACED WITH PHILIPPINE POSITIONS WHICH THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY REJECTED OR WITH WHAT APPEAR TO BE UNREASONABLE DEMANDS, PROCESS COULD BREAK DOWN. WE ON OUR SIDE, I AM SURE, WILL APPROACH NEXT PHASE WITH GENUINE DESIRE REACH AGREEMENT. I HOPE PHILIPPINE SIDE CAN CONTINUE IN POSITIVE FRAME OF MIND.

B. OUR PROBLEMS WITH CONGRESS AND THE PUBIC ARE REAL. IF WE HAVE SPOKEN TO PRESIDENT MARCOS ABOUT U.S. PRECEPTIONS OF
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THE PHILIPPINES, IT HAS BEEN WITH THE INTENSION OF HELPING HIM CORRECT THESE PERCEPTIONS. IT HAS NOT BEEN OUR INTENSION TO INVOLVE OURSELVES IN HIS INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ULTIMATE COORECTION OF PERCEPTIONS DEPENDS NOT ON WHAT U.S. OFFICIALS CAN DOE BUT ON WHAT HE AND PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT DO.

C. I PRESUME THAT HIS CONTINUING REFERENCES TO FOREIGN

INVOLVEMENT AND TO PRESSURES FROM THE UNITED STATES ARE PART OF CAMPAIGN RHETORIC AND DO NOT REPRESENT HIS PERSONAL VIEWS. NEVERTHELESS, I HOPE HE APPRECIATES THAT THESE CANNOT BE SEPARATED WHEN VIEWED FROM THE UNITES AND ARE NOT HELPFUL TO THOSE SEEKING TO OBTAIN SUPPORT FOR U.S. PROGRAMS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

3. AT REFERENCE TO HIS CAMPAIGN SPEECHES, MARCOS SMILED AND SAID HE RECOGNIZED WHAT I WAS SAYING BUT THAT HE HAD TO REPLY TO OPPOSITION ATTACKS WHICH SUGGESTED HE WAS NOT PROTECTING NATIONAL INTERESTS. HE SAID THESE ATTACKS HAD BECOME TOO SHRILL TO BE IGNORED.

4. HE SAID FURTHER THAT I NEEDED TO RECOGNIZE HOW TENSE THE SITUATION WAS AS FAR AS AQUINO WAS CONCERNED. HE (MARCOS) WAS NOW NO LONGER ATTACKING AQUINO DIRECTLY BECAUSE CHIEF JUSTICE HAD POINTED OUT CASE WAS STILL SUB-JUDICE. NEVERTHELESS, AQUINO WAS ATTACKING HIM IN VARIOUS WAYS AND WAS ONCE MORE IN CONTACT WITH NPA. HE SAID THAT EFFORT TO PLANT EXPLOSIVES IN MANSION HOUSE ON EASTER WEEKEND WAS PROBABLY WORK OF NPA ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT LINK IT DIRECTLY TO AQUINO.

5. I SAID I REALIZED THAT PASSIONS WERE HIGH DURING THE ELECTIONS BUT I HOPED THAT THERE WOULD BE RECONCILIATION RATHER THAN VINDICTIVENESS AFTER THE ELECTION. MARCOS SAID ONLY "WE WILL TRY, BUT FILIPINOS DO NOT FORGET EASILY." I
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STRESSED THAT OUTSIDE WORLD'S GENERAL VIEW OF ELECTION PROCESS COULD WELL BE SHAPED BY WHAT HAPPENED AFTER ELECTION. MARCOS SAID HE UNDERSTOOD.

6. WHEN I ASKED HIM ABOUT OPPOSITION WINNING SEATS IN BATASANG PEMBANSA, HE SAID HE COULD ASSURE ME THAT THERE WOULD BE OPPOSITION IN THE NEW INTERIM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. HE THEN POINTED OUT THERE WERE THOSE OPPOSED TO HIS POLICIES WHO WERE RUNNING ON THE GOVERNMENT-BACKED TICKET AND SEVERAL OF THEM WOULD BE ELECTED. HE MENTIONED PARTICULARLY OPPOSITION IN NORTHERN LUZON, CEBU AND MINDANAO. (HE DID NOT GIVE ME THE IMPORESSION THAT, IF HE HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH IT, ANY OF THE LAPAN TICKET WOULD BE ELECTED.)

7. I SAID THAT THERE WERE SOME WHO WERE SAYING THAT ELECTIONS WERE HELD ONLY AT THE INSISTENCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND I WAS SURE THIS WAS NOT TURE SINCE I HAD UNDERSTOOD ALL ALONG THAT HE WANTED TO START THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION. HE AGREED THAT THE ELECTIONS HAD BEEN ON HIS INITIATIVE WITHOUT OUTSIDE PRESSURE. HE THEN COMMENTED "WE MUST NOW THINK ABOUT MARTIAL LAW AGAIN ALSO."

8. I SAID THAT MRS. NEWSOM AND I HAD APPRECIATED THE FAREWELL CALL ON HIM AND ON THE FIRST LADY (MANILA 4876). I REALIZED MRS. MARCOS FELT THAT MUCH OF WHAT SHE HAD DONE WAS NOT APPRECIATED IN THE UNITED STATES AND THAT SOMEHOW THERE WAS AN EFFORT TO DENIGRATE THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE PHILIPPINES. I HOPED HE WOULD ASSURE MRS. MARCOS THAT MRS. NEWSOM AND I WERE VERY MUCH IMPRESSED WITH THE CITY OF MANILA AND WANTED ONLY TO SEE A POSITIVE IMAGE FOR THE PHILIPPINES IN THE UNITED STATES. MARCOS REPLIED THAT MRS. MARCOS IS A VERY EMOTIONAL WOMAN WHO IS TAKING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN VERY SERIOUSLY.

9. THE AIDE MEMOIRE AND THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS OVERTOOK THE SUGGESTIONS IN REF. A. I FEEL THIS LATEST PHILIPPINE PAPER
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HAS DEMONSTRATED MARCOS' DESIRE TO REACH AGREEMENT EVEN THOUGH WE MIGHT WISH THE LANGUAGE OTHERWISE AND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS MAY CONTINUE TO BE AN AGONIZING ONE. I BELIEVE WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT TALK ABOUT REVERSALS OF POSITIONS SINCE MARCOS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED THAT HIS SETTING ASIDE OF CRIMINAL JURISDICTION WAS RELATED IN SOME WAY TO THE COMPENSATION PACKAGE AND SINCE THERE NEVER HAD BEEN AGREEMENT ON THE PRECISE DETAILS OF THE ROLE OF THE BASE COMMANDERS.

10. THIS LAST MEETING WITH MARCOS ENDED ON A FRIENDLY NOTE WITH HIS EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR WHAT I HAD DONE AND FOR WHAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE HAD DONE TO IMPROVE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINES.
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